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ART. I.—1. *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España.* Por el DOCTOR DON JOSE ANTONIO CONDE.

2. *Histoire des Mores Mudejares et des Morisques, ou des Arabes d'Espagne sous la Domination des Chretiens.* Par M. LE COMTE ALBERT DE CIRCOURT.

ONE of the most curious and important branches of study which can be presented to the philosophical thinker is the causes, characteristics, and effects of the mutual influence of nations and races, when brought into contact or relation with one another by invasion, immigration, or colonization. The differences of nations in regard to laws, government, social customs, and personal traits, and the varying aspect of the same nation, as contrasted with itself at different periods of its history, are owing not so much to any self-derived law of growth or retrocession, as to the introduction from without of new elements, which soon become incorporated with, and go to make a part of, the sum total of that which constitutes national character. The self-reliant Chinese are not so much of an exception to this rule as might at first sight be supposed. Long ago, in the infancy of the world, they built themselves up on a commixture of the various Indian races; and had they in later times dealt more with "outside barbarians," and intermarried less with their own kindred, they would now have less to fear from foes within. The traces of alien tribes

are engraved indelibly in the heart of every people; and, in general, the most distinctly and abundantly in those which have made themselves the most deeply felt. The results of this ceaseless interaction are, in different cases, as varied as extensive; and the lessons which they leave are the safest of guides — actual precedents — for many of the most difficult questions of national policy, political economy, and international law. In digesting and interpreting these results, philosophical history finds the largest possible scope occurring in human experience for subtile analysis and profound generalizations. Nations are substituted for individuals, continents for cities, and centuries for years. Yet, while on an arena so vast there is room for the marshalling of greater truths than can be presented in the compass of ordinary history, there is so much the more danger of fatal errors, — errors arising from an imperfect sympathy with the spirit of the age under review, from generalizing on insufficient induction, or from national partiality or prejudice. Alike penetrating and thoroughly catholic should be the judicial spirit which would call up the nations to give account of their talents, — to exhibit what they have rendered and for what received, — and what place they have maintained in history.

Nowhere is this discriminating and impartial spirit more needed, and nowhere is it less likely *a priori* to be found, than in judging of the claims of the Saracens, especially in Spain, to our esteem and gratitude for the new elements and impulses imparted by them to modern civilization. Professing as they did a system of belief so radically at variance with our own, and one which incorporated itself so thoroughly into whatever they accomplished or attempted, — rising so suddenly from obscurity into a first-rate power, — flourishing most proudly when all but they were in the darkest gloom, — it is no light task, where these and other elements, so alien to our own experience, must be weighed, to calculate their influence aright, and to reconcile the apparently conflicting phases of national character to which they gave rise. Hence it is that this subject has been often examined with too great hastiness and ignorance of detail, or scrutinized through the distorting medium of favorite theories. The zealous theorist

who maintains the uniform progress of humanity looks with incredulous eye at the glowing accounts of Moorish arts and learning; while the too fond lover of the past sighs over their departed brilliancy and chivalry, and contrasts them discontentedly with the unromantic tendencies of his own times. A calm, dispassionate inquiry alone will preserve the just medium between the extremes of partisan views, and evolve the truth from their conflicting statements.

The Moorish dominion in Spain hinges so completely on the nature and relative position of the whole Saracen power, that a survey of the former would be incomplete without taking a hasty glance at the latter. The sudden rise and giant strides of the Saracens are without a parallel in history. Their rapid growth seems typified by the seeds which the Hindoo juggler places in the earth before our eyes, and which in the space of a few moments pass from the incipient germ, through the various stages of development, to the ripe and perfect fruit; or, even more aptly, by the fabled monads of Lamerck, which, being at the first ultimate atoms, acquire, by the mere force of a strong craving and the fortunate concurrence of external circumstances, new and higher powers, hastening on to the most perfect organism. To explain this progress requires a brief mention of some of its more general causes. For three or four centuries prior to the Saracen conquests, the foundations of all government had been impaired or broken up by the inroads of successive tribes of half-naked Scythians, who, pushing forward from their home in the desert tracts of Tartary, had trodden out in their invincible career the few sparks of life and energy remaining among the Western nations. The Roman empire, having lived its thousand years, and embraced the known world in the centralizing arms of a universal monarchy, had collapsed at last, like its three great predecessors, the Assyrian, the Persian, and the Macedonian, and had fallen for ever under the sturdy blows of the savages of the North. Its feeble successor in the East inherited its empty title with but the shadow of its power. The pigmy emperors of Constantinople were unable to wield the sword of a Cæsar. Their genius was not for political extension, nor even for preservation. Lolling idly upon their

thrones, they preferred a subtle contest with the chiefs of the Latin Church upon the disputed doctrines of image-worship and the *filioque*, to a victory with more material weapons. If theological arms had been adequate, and the fury of the domestic factions of the Blues and Greens had been concentrated on national foes, they would not have seen limb after limb lopped from their body politic, or rottenness at its core. In the West the great Clovis, as lieutenant of the Roman power, had sought to replace its fallen fragments; but even his hand was powerless to unite so heterogeneous elements, and still more was this the case with his drivelling sons and successors.

In this universal chaos of society, what power could rise to eminence, and vindicate to itself the place of lord paramount over its fellows? Evidently no European nation. Even at that day, the mutual jealousies of the various tribes in Europe taught them too well the necessity of maintaining a balance of power, to admit the usurpation of extensive authority by any one of their number. For still stronger reasons was it impossible that any nominally Christian state should acquire a broad dominion. The factions of professed Christians, dividing them into Arians and Nicæans, Greek and Latin, and innumerable petty heresies, struck even deeper than the national feuds. And though Christianity has succeeded by following in the track of the conqueror, as John Foster says, she has never prevailed when going herself as the conqueror. The eight fatal and fruitless Crusades of her votaries furnish a striking example in point. Her genius is to flourish by spiritual conviction, never by force of arms. The conditions necessary, then, in any case, in order to acquire dominion in Europe or the East, demanded a nation non-European, non-Christian, uncorrupted by luxury, unweakened by dissensions, and united by some principle which should furnish an adequate motive, and nerve its powers for conquest. These conditions were realized in the nations inhabiting the Arabian peninsula, and in the faith of Mohammed which formed their bond of union. Possessing a country for the most part barren, forced to subsist by continual plunder, and having the memory of unbroken independence for their sole luxury, these rude sons of

the desert gave to Islamism the necessary substrata of its growth,—hardy sinews and restless energy. The language of the new religion was in effect the following: “You delight in spoil and plunder; but in your present condition you are confined to a narrow and sterile field, and Gehenna will surely receive you after death. Only put faith in me, and go on ostensibly in my name, and you shall ravage to your heart’s desire. Your petty conquests shall become national triumphs for Allah’s glory. And at death the zealous soldier shall be honored as a martyr. He shall at once pass safely and swiftly over the narrow, flaming bridge, Al Sirat, without a possibility of falling into the seething abyss lying ready on either side for unbelievers, and shall be welcomed into the beautiful garden of bliss, Al Jannat. There seventy-two beauteous houries of Paradise shall infold him in eternal love; and on luxurious couches he shall eat and drink for ever without satiety, in perpetual manhood.” With rewards like these for doing what they had gladly done before of their own will, what wonder at their superadded zeal? The early character of their zeal is best exemplified in the speech of Ali, the cousin of the Prophet: “O Prophet, I am the man; whoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, and rip up his belly. O Prophet, I will be thy vizier over them.” Another defender of the faith testifies that “the holy war is the ladder of Paradise. The Apostle of God styled himself the son of the sword. He loved to repose in the shadow of banners, and on the field of battle.”

The early conquests of the Saracens, then, are to be ascribed to their own inherent love of power, to the propagandizing spirit of their new faith, and also to Mohammed’s artful doctrine of predestination, which told them that the death-hour of every man was irrevocably fixed, so that neither peace nor war could hasten or retard one’s doom, and that it was therefore better bravely to meet it in battle, and so wear a martyr’s crown, than to be damned on beds of ease. The concurring influence of these causes, with others of less note, hurled the intrepid fatalists like thunderbolts upon their unbelieving foes. One hundred years after the death of the arch-impostor, while the heart of the Saracens was leaping and throbbing at Bag-

dad, it was driving the fiery, life-giving blood through its giant limbs, from the banks of the Ganges and the sandy wastes of Tartary to the western coast of Northern Africa. Here, finding the broad Atlantic an invincible barrier to further progress, the gallant leader drove his horse in among the foaming waves, and wept, like Alexander, that there were no more western shores to conquer for Allah. Twice had the daring Moslems assaulted Constantinople, but were driven back after a seven years' siege by the terrors of the Greek fire, rather than by the valor of the natives. In their light barks they had visited all the shores of the Levant, which, in the days of their maritime weakness, the brave Amru had contemptuously compared to "a great pool which some foolhardy men furrow, looking like ants on a log of wood."

Within the same short period, in the year A. D. 711, the Saracens, crossing the narrow straits from Africa, planted their banners in Spain, after a two years' struggle. The long-cherished tradition that this invasion was owing to the invitation of the hostile governor, in revenge for his sovereign's outrages upon his daughter, is now overthrown. Few of late, besides Mr. Southey, have given it credence; and he probably received it more from a kind of poetical credulity, and as forming the sole basis of his "Roderick," than from any firm conviction of its historic truth. Here, as elsewhere, they were driven on by the ferocious activity of their nature and religion. Spain was then held by the Suevi and Visigoths, the remnant of those mighty waves of barbarians, which, rolling westerly over Europe, had broken against the Pyrenees, and inundated the quiet valleys below. The rocky northern regions of Biscay and the Asturias were in the hands of a hardy primeval race, which was afterward to found the kingdom of Castile, and drive the Moors from Spain. In the south of the peninsula the Moors gained and maintained for eight centuries their kingdom, in the heart of nations alien alike in manners, language, civilization, and religion. Farther north their empire never extended. The dauntless Musa did indeed propose to convert all Europe to Allah; but the invincible Charles Martel prevented the fulfilment of these plans, and for ever put a bar to their northern progress, on the field of Tours, beyond the

Pyrenees,—on nearly the same spot where the imperial Clovis, some three centuries before, had routed the Visigoths.

Nowhere has the Saracen name ever won trophies so proud as in Spain. Here was the climax, here the brightest blossom, of all its learning, arts, and chivalry. Of the long line of brilliant capitals from Samarcand to Seville, Cordova was the fairest gem. Even the imperial city of Bagdad, in the time of Haroun Al Rashid, though equal, perhaps, to her Western sister in pomp and luxury, was inferior to her in culture, refinement, and the blessings of a well-ordered government. The vices of licentiousness and intolerance, and the dread tyranny of the partial bow-string, so universal in the East, were far less frequent in the European colony. This superiority was owing to its early independence of the central government, to the more exhilarating climate of Spain, and to the energy developed by continual contests with hostile neighbors.

But the Moorish dominion in Spain is most interesting to us when considered in its situation relatively to the rest of Europe, and in the effects which it has produced upon civilization and society. It presents itself in the light of a graceful and airy bridge, stretching from the hithermost limits of the Roman or Pagan civilization, to the furthest of the Christian or Romantic, and linking them to each other; spanning with but a single arch the dark abyss between, of five or six centuries in duration. Many of the treasures of antiquity have come to us over this fragile structure, illuminated by the rays of Moorish erudition; and of the remainder, those which have not been wholly lost were long hidden in the darkness, till the revival of learning in the fifteenth century brought them again into the sunlight of knowledge. Over and above their services thus as passive depositaries for a time of the learning of others, the Moors are entitled to our regard in a higher point of view, as communicating elements of their own. Their claims in both these aspects, whether we consider them relatively to their contemporaries, or absolutely in themselves, will be more clearly seen by regarding them under the very general heads of literature, arts, and manners.

The literature of the Mohammedan nations may be said to have been comprised in the period of six centuries, extending

from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the fourteenth century. Previously to this time their productions were limited to a few unpolished romantic fictions, and lyrical effusions of love and war, distinguished for nothing but vapid sentiment and overloaded ornament, qualities so common to Oriental poetry. Of these the most celebrated that have come down to us are the seven prize poems of the Moallakat, which were inscribed in letters of gold, and hung about the walls of the sacred temple at Mecca. The causes of this sudden rise of intellectual activity, simultaneously among the Arabs in the East and West, are not a little singular. Mohammedanism itself, in letter or in spirit, gives no sanction whatever to learning that does not connect itself with the study of the Koran. A learned Caliph was accused of hostility to his religion, on account of his earnest devotion to science. Probably their early intercourse with the Greeks, in pursuit of conquest, made them acquainted for the first time with the treasures of Greek science and philosophy; and when the aggressive spirit of the first few generations had in a measure abated its hot zeal, these few scattered seeds took root and produced abundant fruit, which in time served as germs to yet richer harvests. Certain it is, that their first efforts were in the direction of science; and their devotion to the philosophy of Aristotle has been unequalled in any age or nation. The acumen and cosmopolitan character of the Greek dialectician was well adapted to the quick, subtile intellect of the Arabs; and his system was at once taken as the basis of all sound scholarship. Large libraries might be made up merely of the copies and versions of his works, and of the almost numberless commentaries and illustrations of his doctrines prepared by his enraptured disciples. Of these the most illustrious was Averroes of Cordova, of the earlier part of the thirteenth century, to whom the title of the Interpreter was given, from his learned labors in expounding his Greek master. This Moorish sage was not only known in Spain, but extravagantly esteemed throughout Europe. Pupils from every clime sat at his feet. Petrarch tells us that one of the admirers of the Arabian, at Padua, scoffing at the flimsy learning of the Christian Fathers and Apostles, once said to him: "Would that

you might study Averroes, so as to see how far superior he is to these shallow triflers of yours!" A passage exists in the continuation of the old Latin chronicle of Ingulphus, which, if genuine, goes to show that the study of Aristotle with the commentaries of Averroes was introduced into the University of Cambridge at a very early period. In fact, it was only from the Arabic versions of the Greek philosopher, obtained from the Moors, that Europe derived its acquaintance with him; and from the sudden impulse thus received from their Arabian brethren arose the subtle metaphysics of the scholastic theology, which occupied the great intellects of Christian Europe from the eleventh to the fourteenth century.

In the study of the physical sciences equal zeal was manifested by the inquiring Moors, and more profitable results obtained. There was no department of knowledge which eluded their restless industry, none which they did not in some degree illustrate and extend. Astronomy, geometry, the various branches of mathematics, chemistry, physiology, and geography alike found eager and assiduous devotees. The primitive Chaldæans had some acquaintance with the stars, as we may see even in the book of Job. These scattered rudiments of science, corrected and improved by observation and by the principles received from the numerous versions of Ptolemy and other Greek astronomers, formed the basis of the broad, if not wholly accurate, acquisitions made by the Moors. Observatories were built to watch the changing face of the heavens, and minute astronomical tables were made, with a zeal worthy of modern science. Their catalogues of the fixed stars, though necessarily incomplete, are of use in our own times. Their observations on the obliquity of the ecliptic, on the theory of planets, and on eclipses, attest their patience and zeal, if not their originality. As in philosophy, so in astronomy, they have been the channel by which many ancient treatises have come to us. The version of Ptolemy made by Frederic II. of Germany was itself taken from the Arabic version of the Greek original. Our knowledge of the ancient geography of many countries is owing in a considerable degree to existing works compiled by Moslém geographers, and to the written topographical descriptions of different lands,

which were invariably drawn up by the generals in their conquests, by the order and for the benefit of the home government. Their labors in this department were not only accurate, but were assisted by the application of astronomical principles. The various branches of mathematical learning also flourished abundantly under their hands. The very name of algebra is Arabic. The use of decimal quantities, and of the Arabic numerals, Europe received from the Moors. Valuable treatises were written on optics, trigonometry, and geometry, many advances being made beyond the teachings of Euclid and Apollonius, their masters. Though, as Mr. Whewell asserts in his "History of the Inductive Sciences," the origin of chemistry cannot be assigned to the Arabians, yet the first steps of moment in this science were taken by them. The useful results of their labors were frustrated most of all by their constant efforts to realize the dreams of a visionary alchemy. Bending eagerly over their alembics and crucibles, year after year, they soon found wrinkled old age where they were seeking perpetual youth, and wasted the precious gold of a lifetime in searching for the impossible Midas-touch. Yet they were indisputably the inventors of chemical analysis, and the discoverers of the qualities and the processes of preparation of many substances now indispensable in therapeutics. The terms *alkali*, *alembic*, *alchemy*, and many others now known in the nomenclature of chemistry, together with the knowledge which they imply, originated with them. But in the study and practice of medicine they made, perhaps, the greatest advances, and exhibited the most important practical results. Taking the science where Galen had left it, they added many new medicaments, and revealed many new principles. Most of the Moorish metaphysicians were also eminent physicians, and wrote with equal facility about mind and body. Such was their skill and fidelity, that the health of the Christian monarchs was in charge of the infidel doctors. To their influence was owing the establishment of a medical school in Italy in the ninth, or, at the latest, the tenth century, which, in turn, caused others to spring up all over Europe. In anatomy they made but little progress, on account of their superstitious fears respecting the dissection of the human frame.

While thus devoted to the sciences and philosophy, the Moors by no means neglected the lighter pursuits of history, poetry, and fiction. In the single province of history some thirteen hundred writers are mentioned, one of whom wrote a universal history down to his own time. Few of their works, however, are of value to the modern scholar. Burning with a love of whatever was romantic and novel, they endeavored to gratify their predilections even in the so-called details of facts. Accordingly, their annals are for the most part made up of a miscellaneous collection of striking anecdotes, and of such events as admitted of a brilliant treatment, gathered without regard to their importance, or even to their verisimilitude. And, in truth, extravagance both of conception and of diction is the prevailing fault of all their literature, properly so called. In science and philosophy these erratic tendencies were of course less discernible, the disciple being bound by inflexible rules, and stern logic, which allowed step after step right onward, but suffered no random deviations. Hence, while the scientific labors of the Moors are of equal value with all efforts of the same grade by whomever made, their *belles-lettres*, being limited by no technical restraints, but conformed freely in every respect to their peculiar cast of mind and manner of life, comport ill with the present standard of taste. We cannot sympathize with their ecstatic vagaries of passion, or discover much merit in their over-sensuous images and descriptions, and their verbose and stilted euphuism. Their poetry, which abounds most of all in these fantastic conceits, has therefore never satisfied the severity of an alien criticism. From it, however, sprang without doubt the amorous love-conceits of the Provençal Troubadours in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And it is more than possible that the metrical romances of the thirteenth century, of Arthur, Lancelot, Amadis de Gaul, and Charlemagne, owed their origin to the fictions of the Arabs, introduced from Spain. Bishop Percy, indeed, refers them to the Scandinavian minstrels; the learned Mr. Leyden derives them from the various Celtic tribes; but the equally learned and zealous antiquary, Mr. Warton, argues with great plausibility in favor of their Moorish parentage.

Nor were these multifarious pursuits confined to a few pa-

tient, self-taught sages, whose light burned all the more brightly in a dense national darkness. The whole nation seemed imbued with a ferment of mental activity and an enlightened culture far beyond their age. The various aids and appliances for the increase and diffusion of knowledge were early known, and liberally patronized. Universities of a distinguished grade were founded, to which resorted not only the Moorish youth, but inhabitants of every country in Europe, eager to taste of knowledge, though flowing only in infidel streams. The foremost men in every department of learning, of whatever nation, were encouraged by generous rewards to establish themselves in Spain, and there sow in the minds of a willing people the seeds of their long experience. Emissaries were employed by their royal patrons, in all the great seats of learning, to buy up rare and valuable manuscripts. With such success was their bibliomania attended, that, as we are told, seventy public libraries were established in the Moorish kingdom, and the royal collection at Cordova amounted to six hundred thousand volumes,—a collection far greater in number, though infinitely less in real worth, than the priceless treasures now reposing on the shelves of Oxford, Paris, Dresden, and Munich. Fifty colleges and eighty free schools were supported by the numerous devotees of learning in their petty domain in the South of the Peninsula. Hither resorted alike the prince of the blood royal and the unknown peasant; and here each learned, besides the usual routine of study, valuable lessons of mutual forbearance and good-will, which afterward, in their relation of master and subject, contributed much to the happiness so constantly enjoyed under the gentle sway of the house of Ommyyah.

Let us turn from this rough sketch of learning among the Moors, and notice briefly their influence upon the arts, useful and ornamental, and the characteristics of their social life. Here are most distinctly revealed the true expression and outgrowth, the bud and the flower, of the essential idiosyncrasies of the Moorish character. Their severe learning seems to have been a transplanted exotic, not indigenous to the luxurious fulness of their nature, nor able to incorporate itself with

it, but standing separate and independent, like a foreign graft upon a gorgeous stem. It rose, and could have risen, only in peculiar and unnatural circumstances. The fiery activity and ambition of the Moors, which first vented themselves so fiercely in arms, afterward, their utmost limits of conquest having been reached, were forced to turn themselves for gratification to the only channel then lying open to them,—that of letters. Thus it was, as stated above, that the influence of the Greek mind was so profoundly felt. But Moorish arts and Moorish customs would have been just what they were, at any time when they were left free to conform themselves to the peculiar genius of the race,—modified slightly, perhaps, by different ages and climates, but in all essential points one and the same. Nurtured at first under the hot sun of the tropics, their nature had an organic voluptuousness and passion unknown to dwellers amid Northern snows; and afterward, in the balmy air of Spain, these inborn tendencies, softened and directed by learning and culture, gave rise to an ardent love and intense appreciation of whatever was rich and gorgeous in form, color, or description. These characteristics are especially manifest in the glowing inventions of their romantic fiction and the cloying sensuousness of imagery in their poetic lays; and no less so in the undulating lines, the crowded ornaments, and the warm and brilliant tints, which so strikingly distinguish Moorish architecture from all other. The fantastic groupings of this style could never have been built upon the polished refinement of the Greeks, expressed so clearly in their severely simple forms, nor yet upon the intense religious awe of the Teutonic races, striving to embody itself in the pointed arches and lofty spires of Gothic art. The origin of this last style reveals most distinctly the controlling and modifying influence upon form, as well as in other aspects, of national habits of thought and feeling. However we may love, for poetic effect, to trace back its rise to an attempt to imitate in art the branching stems, the shadowy recesses and intertwining arches, of Nature's temple, the awe-inspiring forest, it is known to have sprung in fact from the airy fabrics of the Moorish and Arabian styles, changed and solemnized by the less buoyant enthusiasm and the

deeper religious consciousness which marked the Northern Christian nations. In like manner, the Moorish style also, founded at first upon the later Roman or corrupt Greek structures, was at length seasoned and tempered so thoroughly with the luxuriousness of Moorish tastes, as to lose in its sportive features all traces of its origin. Even at this late day, when so few vestiges of Moorish architecture are left to us, enough may yet be seen to prove its gradual departure from its first forms, and the encroaching influence of national tastes. The crowded passages, the low portals, the cumbrous arches and hybrid pillars of the gigantic mosque at Cordova, since converted into a Christian cathedral, differ essentially from the gay unity of the palace of the Alhambra, erected some two or three centuries subsequently in the smaller but more brilliant kingdom of Granada. In this latter structure were exhibited the climax and full perfection of the Moorish style, as the Cathedral at Cologne embodies the more sublime splendor of the Gothic, and the Parthenon the more simple beauty of the Greek. Its gossamer lightness, resting, like the baseless fabrics of fairy land, on the bosom of the earth, the rich, undying hues of its walls and ceilings, its gorgeous lavishness of decoration, its springing domes, tessellated pavements, and clustered columns, even now delight the eye above all other beauties of Spain. When, in the days of its grandeur, it stood encompassed by spacious orange-groves, and sparkling fountains, and rich gardens, recalling the sweet perfumes of Araby the blest, capacious enough to embrace within its ample circumference forty thousand men, and surrounded by the dazzling splendors of private domiciles, lying beneath its proud eminence in the city at its feet, we cannot wonder at the enthusiastic praises of the delighted Moors. Those who cannot look upon its still remaining beauties will derive a pleasure only second to sight from Mr. Irving's charming pages, or the highly colored pictures of Bulwer's *Leila*, or the exquisite illustrations to Murphy's *Moorish Antiquities of Spain*.

While thus cultivating literature and science, and increasing the splendor of their state, the Moors did not neglect to develop their internal resources, and to carry on trade with

other nations, in order to the creation of wealth,—the only safe basis of national luxury. Their commerce was so general, that one of their historians tells us that “Granada became the common city of all nations.” They had dealings with all the great races from England to India. The covetous Venetians are reproached with furnishing slaves to their infidel neighbors, in payment for the luxuries of the East. The Genoese also had commercial leagues with the Moors of Granada, which seem to have been kept in good faith for a long period. The preparation of silk is said to have employed six hundred villages; and it was from the plunder of two Moorish cities, in the middle of the twelfth century, that the manufacture was first introduced into Italy, and thence into the rest of Christian Europe. According to Mr. Hallam, there is, to say the least, a probability that the knowledge of the mariner’s compass was derived to Europe from the Moors, who, in turn, had received it from their Eastern brethren. At any rate, the old tradition of its invention being due to Flavio Gioja, a native of Amalfi in Italy, in the fourteenth century, can no longer be received; for its properties are described most plainly by French and Italian writers of more than a century previous. It is also exceedingly probable that the knowledge of gunpowder was communicated in the same manner to Europe by the Moors. We would not detract from the merits of good Friar Carmarden, often mentioned as its inventor, nor interfere with the just claims to our sincere gratitude of Roger Bacon, that great experimental philosopher of the thirteenth century, who did so much for science in a rude age, and who is so often lauded for the triple invention of burning-glasses, the telescope, and gunpowder. However it may have been in regard to the first two, his claim to the last invention is unfounded. His merit cannot be greater than that of having been the first to receive the knowledge of its composition and uses from the Saracens, and to introduce it among Christian nations; for its use in discharging missiles is clearly and graphically described in an Arabian manuscript no later than 1249, the Latin version of the passage calling it *pulvis nitratus*; and in several manuscripts of the early part of the fourteenth century, before the battle of Crécy, in 1346, when

field-pieces were first employed by Europeans, the use of cannon among the Saracens is described. The manufacture of cotton and linen paper came into Europe through the Moors. Some Arabian writers claim that linen paper was known to their nation in the eighth century, having come from China. Though this is probably untrue, yet Arabic manuscripts of linen paper exist, of date as early as the beginning of the eleventh century, which was before linen paper was known to Europeans. It does not appear that the Moors communicated much in the department of scientific agriculture to the European nations, though it is well known that they made great advances in theoretic and practical husbandry, and cultivated, in their narrow but fertile territory, with equal skill and success, the various products, both useful and ornamental, of almost every clime. The fruits of their labors seem to have perished with the fall of their kingdom. Nor were the mineral resources for which Spain was so celebrated in the early ages left untried by the Moors. Their industry and success in mining are best attested by the fact, that a large part of the government revenue was derived from working the mines of gold and silver, and by the number of their excavations still apparent, being, in all, more than five thousand.

Turning from this gleaning of details, to which many others of equal significance might be added, let us look at the more attractive aspects of social life among the Moors. Their vivacious temper and gay tastes are manifested in their showy attire, their sprightly dances and never-ending festivities. Their old chroniclers never tire of telling of splendid pageants and gallant tourneys, of gold and silver and jewels, of crystal fountains and intoxicating perfumes, of the loveliness of the Moorish maids and the honor of Moorish men, and all the wonders of a luxurious and brilliant court. But it is in the general toleration, the freedom of intercourse, and the chivalric courtesy mutually exhibited by the Moors and their Christian neighbors, that the most pleasing picture is presented, — one redounding alike to the credit of both nations. Though engaged for centuries in what was evidently, sooner or later, to be a war of extermination, they seldom forgot to

observe the nice requirements of knightly honor. Some of their brilliant battles might almost make us fancy ourselves reading, in the pages of Froissart, of the French and English chivalry a few centuries later, in the days of Poitiers and Agincourt, when good Sir John Chandos would give notice to his French foes, in the true knightly style, that "by God's grace he would meet them in gallant encounter on the morrow of the third day." And the splendid reception of Henry IV., in 1463, by the Moorish king, in the plain before the city of Granada, reminds one of the magnificent pageants of "the Field of the Cloth of Gold," in the time of Henry VIII. and Francis I. The Moorish and Christian knights mingled together alike in festivals and tournaments. Often the Christian cavalier won the favor of a Moorish lady, kindled his courage by the fire of her eyes, and received from her hands the guerdon of his valor. Religious toleration formed the rule, not the exception, between the two nations, being extended to all by a special stipulation in the treaty concluded between the Moors and Theodemir, the prince of the Goths, in 713. This special agreement was undoubtedly induced at first by policy. But the long continuance of these and many civil privileges must be allowed to rest upon something more than a mere respect for the faith of treaties, — upon the basis of a mutual good understanding and honorable feeling. At all events, whatever was the cause of this toleration, it stands in pleasing contrast to the stern doctrines of the Koran, which condemn all unbelievers to the sword, and also to the bitter strifes of contemporary sects, having the name, but not the spirit, of Christians.

These various advances made by the Moors in learning, science, and the cultivation of the arts of civilization, though far less striking and of less positive utility than the progress of modern times, were remarkable for their age, and of the utmost importance, not only as serving to link together the old and the new, but still more as arousing the dormant intellect of slumbering Europe. Their merits are best appreciated when we reflect that, during the first, and by far the greater part, of their dominion in Spain, their contemporaries were passing through that doleful period of ignorance, of six

centuries, from the fifth to the eleventh, known emphatically as the Dark Ages. Stagnation had settled upon all. Not far from the time when the royal sages, Almanzor and Almanon in the East, and, somewhat later, Alhakem III. in Spain, cultivated with pre-eminent and equal success physics and metaphysics, it is a debated point even now whether Charlemagne, though a liberal patron of the learning of others, was able to sign his own name. This was of course an extreme case, notwithstanding that all the learning of the time was among the clergy. But how limited were even their attainments we may infer from the fact that King Alfred complained, that in his time, about 900, not one priest south of the Thames understood the common prayers, or could translate Latin into the vernacular; that the clergy were uniformly accused of borrowing their discourses from the writings of the Fathers; and that, so late as the thirteenth century, the translators of Aristotle were reproached for their ignorance of science and of the Greek tongue. This ignorance cannot justly be ascribed to barrenness of intellect; for where such philosophers as Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, "the angelical friar," and William of Ockham, "the invincible doctor," arose and wrought such wonderful fabrics out of the beggarly materials granted them, what would they not have done if allowed fitter tools and ampler scope? It was owing mainly to the jealous restriction of thought by the Church of Rome. The study of physical science was forbidden, lest revelation might suffer. The Council held at Carthage in 398, whose decrees, unfortunately, long kept the souls of many in awe, strictly prohibited the bishops from reading secular books. But when, at last, freedom of thought was gained, and the preposterous claims of the Papal despots, ascending through Gregory VII. and Innocent III., had been crushed out in that monster and climax of assumption, Boniface VIII., by Philip IV. of France, and when, concurrently with this, the impulse given to learning by the Moors had gained due strength and momentum, and the seeds planted by them in the minds of the omnigenous frequenters of their schools had taken firm root, then was Europe ripe for that brilliant revival of letters, so auspiciously commenced in the fourteenth

century, by Petrarch and Poggio, the light of which has steadily increased down to the present time.

The fifteenth century was marked by four great events, — the discovery of America, the invention of printing, the taking of Constantinople by Mohammed II., and the counterbalancing advantage to Christendom of the total extinction of the long dominion of the Moors. The Moors present to us the only instance in history, from the wild Bedouins down to the sluggish Turks, of a nation professing the faith of the Prophet having made any contribution of moment to learning, or taken any important step in civilization. By their hands were painted many of the brightest colors which adorned the institution of chivalry in the Middle Ages, some of which still blend themselves so harmoniously in the fabric of modern society. Their seats of learning, their treatises, their versions, and their contagious spirit of zeal and patient industry, made Europe largely their debtor. Many have speculated on what would have been the probable or possible results to society had they subjugated all Europe to Allah, as they at first designed. Such speculation is, however, wholly useless and groundless. Not only they did not, but they could not, overrun the continent. Even if they had been able to overthrow Charles Martel at Tours, in the North of Germany they would have been at once crushed under foot by the sons of those rude Teutons, who, in the year 9, under Arminius, had utterly exterminated the Roman legions under the leading of Varus, and for ever freed themselves from a foreign yoke. But, granting that they could have subdued the whole of Europe, nevertheless their power of centralization was, and always would have been, insufficient to hold entire under one government such a gigantic domain. They would soon have been broken up into innumerable petty rival powers, each held in check by the others and by the adjoining hostile tribes; so that, throughout the continent, their influence must have been very much the same as on the smaller stage of the Peninsula, where their powers and tendencies were seasonably regulated by the jealous watchfulness of the Christian principalities, in such a way as to allow of their highest possible development for good, while it, at the

same time, restrained the free indulgence of their coarser and grosser propensities.

The final expulsion of the Moors from Spain was but the inevitable result of concurring causes, which had been operating, now silently, now with the loud notes of war, for many centuries. The climax of their glory had long since been reached, and they were fast descending. Their empire was crumbling to decay. They could well be spared now; for Europe was all ablaze with the marvellous light which they had kindled at the first. They had fulfilled their mission; they had finished their work. The grand final cause of their being established in Europe, the energizing of the Christian world, had been successfully accomplished. Year after year they had seen the lines drawing continually closer about them, and pushing them from the Douro to the Guadalquivir, and thence to the Xenil. At last, in 1492, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the disciples of the Prophet took their last look at Granada, and embarked for the African shore. And even to this day the swarthy sons of the Spanish Moors, across the straits, turning their faces toward Mecca, pray every Friday to Allah to restore them once more to the pleasant paradise of Malaga and Granada. But they never shall return. The early meteoric conquests of Islamism are all over. Its vital, energizing spirit is extinct. It came, and succeeded at the first, not at all as a religion, but as a well-contrived political and military system; and now others of greater weight have crushed it. So far from being able to colonize again their old possessions, its devotees retain their present dominion only by the indifference or mutual jealousies of stronger powers. Its presence now only brings a blight. The very garden of Europe — the only country on that continent now subject to Mohammedanism — has for four or five centuries lain waste and unproductive, under its withering influence. A religion only six centuries its senior now sways the world, and every year lessens the power of the Prophet. And while the light of Christianity is still steadily increasing, and, after having once been perfectly established, has nowhere been extinguished, except only in a little province of Northern Africa once the bishopric of Augustine, Mohammedanism,

on the other hand, the mushroom conqueror, once the subjugator of half the known world, has been for centuries giving ground, and now rules one hundred and sixty millions of palsied mortals, who, ignorant and sensual, in a period of unusual knowledge and culture, have done nothing whatever for learning or civilization, and have advanced in no way the interests of humanity. The true and the false faith have both found their level, and "by their fruits shall ye know them."

ART. II. — 1. *Algernon Sidney. A Lecture delivered before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, Dec. 21, 1853.* By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Boston: S. K. Whipple & Co. 1854.

2. *Speech delivered by HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, Senior, before the Whig Convention, August 16, 1854.* Boston. 1854.

3. *Considerations respectfully submitted to the Citizens of Boston and Charlestown, on the proposed Annexation of these two Cities.* By JOSIAH QUINCY Senior. Boston. 1854.

MR. WINTHROP'S is a lecture that we should be glad to put into the hands of every young man in the United States. It is written in an easy style, rising naturally with the subject, and presents a noble character with those accessories of greatness in speech and life which are fitted to make more than a transient impression upon the reader. It is well for us to keep green the memory of such men as Algernon Sidney, and to quicken our virtues anew by the example of theirs. In the peaceful enjoyment of numerous social rights and an almost unlimited political freedom, there is danger lest we forget the cost at which our liberties have been purchased, and so begin to undervalue and despise them. "Eternal vigilance" is the price which we must still pay for such privileges; and in a constitutional republic not less than under a monarchy the great maxims and safeguards of free and equal government are to be cherished, applied, and enforced with a jealousy as sensitive as that with which female purity or a man's personal integrity and honor should be guarded and preserved.